

jury that will sit on the President, basically jury tampering. At 8:15 he concludes remarks and proceeds to the motorcade. At 8:30 he arrives at the Sheraton New York Hotel and Towers in New York. This is while we are supposed to be negotiating the budget. Where is he? At 8:35 greets the first gala benefit for the GMP charitable foundation for cancer research. At 9:25 he boards the motorcade and departs the Sheraton Hotel and Towers en route to a private residence. At 9:35 he arrives at the private residence Manhattan, proceeds inside to private event. At 10:15 he greets the Democratic Senate Campaign Committee reception in honor of Congressman CHARLES SCHUMER, a private residence in Manhattan. At 11:55 he arrives at Kennedy International Airport, boards Air Force One. At 12:10 he leaves for Andrews, arrives at 1:05. At 1:20 departs for the White House, at 1:30 lands.

Where is the Vice President? The Vice President left this morning to go down to Palm Beach, Florida because the President cancelled his fund-raiser at Palm Beach, Florida so the Vice President went down there.

Where is the First Lady? She has no direct line of responsibility here but she is usually involved in a lot of discussions, particularly has been very outspoken on social issues. She is over in Bulgaria and the Czech Republic.

But supposedly we are a do-nothing Congress. Supposedly we are the ones holding up everything. I would suggest that if we are indeed in a crisis in our government and if we are on the border, borderline of a government shutdown, the least the President could do is stay in town and talk. Maybe we should have been doing this in the summer, during the August break, since we knew that the final issues were going to be education funding, pro-life concerns, IMF, emergency spending on year 2000 computers, and the farm crisis. We knew that. There is no shock here. We have known this for months.

But everybody has been so preoccupied with other things that they have not sat down and dealt with it. Now that we are down here, we are in extra days. We are trying to negotiate the final budget. The appropriations bills are over there. The House and Senate leaders are negotiating. In fact, some of what they have been negotiating on the drug issue, for example, they worked out with General McCaffrey, the White House drifts in and says, oh, by the way, he does not speak for us. Well, if your staff cannot speak for you, if the people you appoint cannot speak for you, stay in town. Do not go trotting around to the Waldorf Astoria for candidates who indeed actually sit on the Committee on the Judiciary. Do not go trotting over to the Hilton and into private receptions raising money when we are supposed to be trying to figure out how do the people's business.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gen-

tleman from Michigan (Mr. CONYERS) is recognized for 5 minutes.

(Mr. CONYERS addressed the House. His remarks will appear hereafter in the Extensions of Remarks.)

#### THE BUDGET PROCESS

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Minnesota (Mr. MINGE) is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. MINGE. Mr. Speaker, I think it is somewhat disingenuous to blame the White House for the failure of the leadership in Congress to move the appropriations and the budget process on a timely basis.

I also note with some interest that even the information that was presented in the well a minute ago is inaccurate. I happened to see Vice President GORE in Minneapolis today. He was not in Florida.

I think the rest of the analysis is similarly flawed.

We are struggling to close the 105th Congress and the problem is that the congressional leadership has failed to move the budget and appropriations legislation on a timely basis. Normally, according to the legislation that we adopted to impose upon ourselves so that there is some structure, rigor and discipline in the budget process, we would have completed a concurrent budget resolution by April 15. Here it is, October 12, almost six months later, and we do not have a concurrent budget resolution. We do not have a concurrent budget resolution.

This is symptomatic of the problem that we face in the 105th Congress. The House of Representatives passed a budget resolution. The Senate passed a budget resolution. But the leadership in the House and the Senate, both in the same political party, have not been able to meet in the middle of the building and iron out the differences between the two chambers.

As a consequence, we are stalemated in the budget process for the first time in 24 years, the first time in 24 years. And the differences between the Republican leadership in the House and the Republican leadership in the Senate and the budget resolution process parallel the differences that we see in the appropriations bills, in the tax reduction effort and many other efforts.

How can the President be blamed because the leadership in the House and the Senate are unable to get together? How can the President be blamed when October 1 arrives and most of the appropriations bills have not even been passed in Congress? It is simply an allegation that I submit that is unfounded.

What we need to do in this body is look at the rules that we have that govern our procedures on the budget and abide by them. It is as simple as that. We expect local governments, State governments, the United Nations to have a budget. People rail in this body about the lack of fiscal discipline

at the United Nations. They talk about the need for reform at the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank, and then we have numerous limitations on what State and local government can do with Federal funds because we do not trust them to be responsible in developing a budget. But here we sit in Congress and we are hypocrites because we have not adopted a concurrent budget resolution.

The appropriations bills, which I mentioned before, are really supposed to reflect what is in this concurrent budget resolution and move through Congress so that they are completed in the summer. That means they are presented to the President in the summer. If there is disagreement, there can be a veto or there can be negotiations in the summer.

Nothing was completed in the summer. It was deferred. It was delayed. Here we are October 12, the fiscal year started October 1, the 1998-1999 Federal fiscal year, October 1 from 1998 to September 30 of 1999. These appropriations bills were not available for planning at the Federal agencies. They were not available for negotiations with the White House or if there was going to be a veto, a veto at the White House and then negotiations.

So I submit, Mr. Speaker, that until we have the discipline within our body to do what is right in terms of a process on a timely basis, that we cannot expect the American people to respect our budget process, and certainly we cannot blame the White House for its lack of leadership on the budget issues and the appropriations bills. That leadership rests in this building, and we have not had that leadership.

#### WASTEFUL GOVERNMENT SPENDING

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from California (Mr. CUNNINGHAM) is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. CUNNINGHAM. Mr. Speaker, talk about the President's leadership. He has only had two cabinet meetings in this Congress. But yet he has had over 80 fund-raisers in different areas raising millions of dollars each time. He was scheduled to go to Florida while we are sitting here working.

But that is not what I am here to talk about, Mr. Speaker. I wanted to reiterate what the previous speaker said.

I want to point out some areas where there is wasteful government and the difference between my colleagues on the other side that believe that government can do things better and on the Republican side and some Democrats feel that the people can do more with their own money.

Any time you send dollars to Washington, D.C., Mr. Speaker, about half of it is wasted. In welfare reform, less than 50 cents on the dollar gets back down to welfare. In education, less

than 50 cents on the dollar gets down to the classroom because of the bureaucracies. Let me go through to be specific.

In the previous Congress, I was chairman of a subcommittee on education, K through 12 education, basically. There was a direct lending program, a government program to where student loans emanated out of the government.

The GAO did a study and in their report said that it cost, this was capped at 10 percent, only 10 percent of government loans. It cost a billion dollars annually, billion, not million, to run the program. It cost 5 million to collect it, because the government did not have the agencies to go out and collect it. So what we wanted to do is privatize it and cut those losses.

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We did that.

In the balanced budget, the President wanted \$3 billion for a new literacy program. California is 50th in literacy. Much to do, I think, because we have a lot of immigrants that come to California and the border States. But it was 50th in literacy. So when the President announced \$3 billion for a new literacy program, it sounded pretty good, until we took a look.

There are 14 literacy programs in the Department of Education. Fourteen of them. What is wrong with taking one or two of those, Mr. Speaker? And when we have an authorization, we may authorize this much, but when it comes time for the dollars we may only authorize and appropriate this many dollars? What is wrong with picking one or two of those and not just fully funding them but actually increasing them?

Title I is one of those that is underfunded by the Federal Government. We could get rid of the bureaucrats, because every one of those programs has bureaucrats that have a salary and retirement. That comes out of the education funds. They have a building here in Washington that we pay rent on. The paperwork that they generate takes dollars away from the classroom.

There are 760 Federal education programs, Mr. Speaker, which allow us to get less than 50 cents on a dollar down to the classroom. What we want to do is get 90 or 95 percent of the dollars down to the classroom so that the teachers, the parents, the community and the administrators can make the decisions for their children instead of the bureaucrats here in Washington, D.C.

I had a hearing and we had eight different areas testifying. They all had the greatest programs since sliced bread. At the end of the hearing I asked which of them had any one of the other seven's programs. None of them. I said, that is the whole idea. Everyone likes their own programs.

We want to give them each a block grant, instead of mandating all the other seven programs in all the other districts, in which there are only min-

uscule dollars then to run the programs that they like. We could give them a block grant, and they could pick the program that is good for them, because Wisconsin may be a lot different than San Diego, California, or Hoboken, or wherever it happens to be.

Washington, D.C. My colleagues talk about school construction. Washington has some of the worst schools in this Nation. Over 70 percent of the children graduate functionally illiterate. The school houses were falling apart; their roofs caving in. School was canceled. Fire codes were not met. Schools did not start timely last year because of construction. The average age is over 60 years.

We wanted to waive Davis-Bacon requirements, which is the prevailing wage or union wage, to construct those schools. And my colleagues said, oh, they are for the children.

Well, we could have saved \$24 million to build new schools in D.C. on that limited budget, because it cost 35 percent, Mr. Speaker, by going to union wage. We could have saved \$24 million that would have gone to build those Washington, D.C., schools and repair those roofs. But did our colleagues choose the children? No, they chose their precious union, because it finances their campaigns. Watch the media if anyone has any doubt about that.

Mr. Speaker, we had the Individuals with Disabilities Act; special education. It had never been fully funded, and the Republicans funded that. The gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. GOODLING), the chairman of the Committee on Education and the Workforce, and I worked and put the two factions of the schools and the parents together, with no food or water, until they came out of the room and, finally, we came up with something fairly good. There are still problems, but we funded it up toward the 40 percent level.

Impact aid. The President totally cut out impact aid, education aid for military and Indian reservations.

We have done a lot, Mr. Speaker.

#### FUNDING EDUCATION IN AMERICA

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. PETERSON) is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. PETERSON of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, I rise this evening to join the chorus of those who to want discuss education.

It is interesting, we have had a lot of discussion from the White House, we have had a lot of criticism from Democrats about the process that we are going through on education. Is it political rhetoric? Is it a serious commitment to helping our local schools across America? That is the question I want to ask, Mr. Speaker.

We have those who want to start school construction programs in the Federal Government.

First, I would like to state that Federal money is not simple to use. I come from a rural part of Pennsylvania, where many school districts obtain very few Federal dollars because they need consultants, they need people who understand the Federal programs, and they have to work for months and sometimes years to get into the system and figure out the language the bureaucrats in their State capital want and the bureaucrats in Washington demand. So most small rural school districts do not receive much Federal money because they do not have consultants, they do not have grantsmen, they do not have the people that speak the right language that bureaucrats understand.

Now we are going to Federalize school construction. We have 15,600 schools across America, approximately. The school construction program proposed by the President will take half the money and will give it to 100 urban poor schools. That leaves 15,500 some school districts with no funding. Now they will have a chance at the other half, but urban poor districts are not prohibited from going after that.

And this is a program for all of America? I do not think so. This is a program to go to President Clinton's base in the urban parts of America.

Now urban poor school districts have problems, but so do rural poor school districts, and they should have an equal shot. The construction program that has been designed by the President will not be a program that will help many schools in this country. The vast majority of the schools will never see a dollar. And those that choose to use this will lengthen the process of constructing schools by a year or two.

I have never seen a Federal program that even worked the first year. Last year, we had the technology program, had a half billion dollars in it. They have spent less than 100 million so far, and the year is over. Because Federal bureaucrats cannot make programs work in 1 year's time.

This will delay construction in America. This will make it more complicated to construct schools in America. It will make it more costly to construct schools in America because of the Federal bureaucracies that will have to be met, and Davis-Bacon, which will raise the cost of construction itself.

Then we have the program of teachers in the classroom, 100,000 teachers. That is a good cause. I think most of us would like to see 100,000 additional teachers. Probably 40 or 50 school districts in America will receive some kind of grant to do that or maybe 100, at the most, or 150. But that leaves 15,400 or 15,500 school districts with no change. Should we not have programs that get out equally across America where the need is, whether it is urban or whether it is rural or whether it is suburban, if there are school districts in trouble?